Mass Appeal: Discernment in Liturgical Innovation

> "This changes everything. Again."[1]

The process of innovation is central to our culture. The idea of "new and improved" is a cornerstone of the American way of buying, selling and living. Models of innovation permeate industry and commerce, and they have been adopted as models for the strategic planning and assessment of the academy and the church. As we consider the wisdom of liturgical innovation it is perhaps worth our while to note the prevailing attitudes regarding innovation and commercial success which have become a hallmark of our world view.

The innovator searches for the weak link in a process or product that can be eliminated. The innovator looks forward. The following quote from one of our most important innovative thinkers, Henry Ford, highlights the spirit of American innovation:

> "History is more or less bunk. It's tradition. We don't want tradition. We want to live in the present and the only history that is worth a tinker's dam is the history we made today."[2]

The innovator lives in the present. A successful innovator must be capable of minute by minute evaluation of a current challenge or environment, aware of the ebb and flow of "change" and the implications of these changes for production updates and marketing of the final product.

Our culture teaches us the positive moral value of innovation. We are indoctrinated to be suspicious or weary of the "same old thing". C.S. Lewis points to the way in which the church itself courts this moral value to the detriment of the current and future generations. The character Screwtape, a fictional demon in middle management, writes to his nephew and protégé Wormwood, with clear advice regarding the power of innovation in the undermining of the faith.

> What we [demons] want, if men become Christians at all, is to keep them in the state of mind I call 'Christianity And'. You know – Christianity and the Crisis, Christianity and the New Order, Christianity and Faith Healing, Christianity and Psychical Research, Christianity and Vegetarianism, Christianity and Spelling Reform. If they must be Christians let them at least be Christians with a difference. Substitute for the faith itself some Fashion with a Christian coloring. Work on their horror of the Same Old Thing.
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> The horror of the Same Old Thing is one of the most valuable passions we [demons] have produced in the human heart – an endless source of heresies in

[1] Apple, iPhone 4 slogan
[2] Henry Ford, *Interview in Chicago Tribune, May 25th, 1916*

> religion, folly in counsel, infidelity in marriage, and inconstancy in friendship. The humans live in time, and experience reality successively. To experience much of it, therefore, they must experience many different things; in other words, they must experience change. And since they need change, the Enemy (being a hedonist at heart) has made change pleasurable to them, just as He has made eating pleasurable. But since He does not wish them to make change, any more than eating, an end in itself, He has balanced the love of change in them by a love of permanence. He has contrived to gratify both tastes together in the very world He has made, by that union of change and permanence which we call Rhythm. He gives them the seasons, each season different yet every year the same, so that spring is always felt as a novelty yet always as the recurrence of an immemorial theme. He gives them in His Church a spiritual year; they change from a fast to a feast, but it is the same feast as before.
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> Now just as we [demons] pick out and exaggerate the pleasure of eating to produce gluttony, so we pick out this natural pleasantness of change and twist it into a demand for absolute novelty. This demand is entirely our workmanship. If we neglect our duty, men will be not only contented but transported by the mixed novelty and familiarity of snowdrops THIS January, sunrise THIS morning, plum pudding THIS Christmas… Only by our incessant efforts is the demand for infinite, or unrhythmical, change kept up.
> The greatest triumph of all is to elevate this horror of the Same Old Thing into a philosophy so that nonsense in the intellect[3] may reinforce corruption in the will… For the descriptive adjective 'unchanged' we have substituted the emotional adjective 'stagnant'.[4]

The American church, surrounded by a culture that fears stagnation, has welcomed the spirit of innovation. Consider these comments from "Creekers" who participated in the Willow Creek movement founded by Bill Hybels:

> From week to week, I never knew what was going to happen at those church services, and that unpredictability fostered an atmosphere of anticipation among those in attendance. It was sort of like the feeling before a big football game or rock concert. Nobody knew exactly what was going to occur, we just knew that we all were going to experience something different and exciting.[5]

Innovative methodology has been tied to measurable success. Long before Bill Hybels invented the Willow Creek Program or Henry Ford consigned tradition to the dustbin of irrelevance another rugged American individualist had arranged the furniture for generations of innovative thought in the churches. Charles Grandison Finney described the importance of innovative thought and action in the work and worship of the church in

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[3] One of the gifts of a stagnant, rote, repetitious rite or liturgy is the intellectual orientation which is cultivated by rote and repetition. Even without departing from the hymnal (with 600 hymn texts and five liturgical orders) one can create an environment of "non-sense." The addition of worship inserts, and a couple of creative copyright agreements and the disorientation is complete.
[4] Lewis, p. 135-137
[5] Pritchard, p. 90

his *Lectures on Revival* first published in 1834. His blueprint for missional Christianity remains current, and it has provided an architectural superstructure for the development of American evangelicalism through Moody, Graham, Willow Creek, Saddleback, and countless "Willow Brooklets" of many denominations.

> I. …under the Gospel dispensation, God has established no particular system of measures to be employed, and invariably adhered to, in promoting religion.
> II. …our present forms of public worship, and everything, so far as measures are concerned, have been arrived at by degrees, and by a succession of New Measures.
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> …When Christ came, the ceremonial or typical dispensation was abrogated, because the design of those forms was fulfilled, and they were therefore of no further use. He being the Antitype, the types were of course done away at His coming. THE GOSPEL was then preached as the appointed means of promoting religion; and it was left to the discretion of the Church to determine, from time to time, what measures should be adopted, and what forms pursued, in giving the Gospel its power.
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> We are left in the dark as to the measures pursued by the apostles and primitive preachers, except so far as we can gather from occasional hints in the Book of Acts. We do not know how many times they sang, how many times they prayed, in public worship, nor even whether they sang or prayed at all in their ordinary meetings for preaching. When Jesus Christ was on earth, laboring among His disciples, He had nothing to do with forms or measures. He did from time to time in this respect just as it would be natural for any man to do in such cases, without anything like a set form or mode. The Jews accused Him of disregarding their forms. His object was to preach and teach mankind the true religion. And when the apostles preached afterwards, with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven, we hear nothing about their having a particular system of measures for carrying on their work; nor do we hear of one apostle doing a thing in a particular way because others did it in that way. Their commission was: "Go and preach the Gospel, and disciple all nations." It did not prescribe any forms. It did not admit any. No person can pretend to get any set of forms or particular directions as to measures, out of this commission. Do it - the best way you can; ask wisdom from God; use the faculties He has given you; seek the direction of the Holy Ghost; go forward and do it.
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> This was their commission. And their object was to make known the Gospel in the most effectual way, to make the truth stand out strikingly, so as to obtain the attention and secure the obedience of the greatest number possible. No person can find any form of doing this laid down in the Bible…
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> Without new measures it is impossible that the Church should succeed in gaining the attention of the world to religion. There are so many exciting subjects constantly brought before the public mind, such a running to and fro, so many that

> cry "Lo here!" and "Lo there!" that the Church cannot maintain her ground without sufficient novelty in measures, to get the public ear. The measures of politicians, of infidels, and heretics, the scrambling after wealth, the increase of luxury, and the ten thousand exciting and counteracting influences that bear upon the Church and upon the world, will gain men's attention, and turn them away from the sanctuary and from the altars of the Lord, unless we increase in wisdom and piety, and wisely adopt such new measures as are calculated to get the attention of men to the Gospel of Christ. I have already said that novelties should be introduced no faster than they are really called for; they should be introduced with the greatest wisdom, and caution, and prayerfulness, and in a manner calculated to excite as little opposition as possible. But new measures we must have. And may God prevent the Church from settling down in any set of forms, or getting the present or any other edition of her measures stereotyped.
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> It is evident that we must have more arousing preaching, to meet the character and wants of the age. Ministers are generally beginning to find this out. And some of them complain of it, and suppose it to be "owing to new measures," as they call them. They say that such ministers as our fathers would have been glad to hear, cannot now be heard, cannot get a pastorate, nor secure an audience. And they think that new measures have perverted the taste of the people. But this is not the difficulty. The character of the age is changed…
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> Finally, this zealous adherence to particular forms and modes of doing things, which has led the Church to resist innovations in measures, savors strongly of fanaticism. And what is not a little singular, is, that fanatics of this stamp are always the first to cry out "fanaticism." What is that but fanaticism in the Roman Catholic Church, which causes them to adhere with such pertinacity to their particular modes, and forms, and ceremonies, and fooleries? They act as if all these things were established by Divine authority; as if there were a "Thus saith the Lord" for every one of them. Now, we justly style this a spirit of fanaticism, and esteem it worthy of rebuke. But it is just as absolutely fanatical for the Presbyterian Church, or any other, to be sticklish for her particular forms, and to act as if they were established by Divine authority. The fact is that God has established, in no Church, any particular form, or manner of worship, for promoting the interests of religion. The Scriptures are entirely silent on these subjects, under the Gospel dispensation, and the Church is left to exercise her own discretion in relation to all such matters.[6]

Those who are “sticklish” for particular, or traditional, forms will find themselves nudged out of the market. They are destined for obsolescence, and will be “out-souled” by the competition who look to the future and who build their methodology on the character of the present age, the current taste of the people, a manipulative aesthetic, and the unique personality and “gifts” of the preacher.

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[6] http://www.whatsaiththescripture.com/Voice/Revival.Lectures.3.html
From Lecture 14.

Americans who read Finney's words in the 1830's and 40's were learning about the consumer culture and the "art of consumption". Revivalism helped fuel the "sanctification of choice." Converts who had made a personal decision for Christ in the tabernacle were converted, on the street, to new products, new brands, new experiences in an era that gave rise to new forms of advertising. Revivalists then kept current with and adapted these advertising techniques to "sell" the Gospel.[7]

In the twentieth century revivalism found a ready audience in the development of adolescent culture. Many of the revivalistic sentiments in our churches have come in through the door of youth work. Prior to 1875, when the Supreme Court ruled that tax money could be used for high school education, only one in fifty people attended high school. Most young people were ushered into a very early adulthood, usually immediately after their confirmations. Between 1940 and 1975 a vast culture directed to and built around the perceived needs of adolescents postponed adulthood further. The demographic had access to time and money, and teenagers were a target market for the first time. Music, movies, magazines, books were created exclusively for adolescents. The church felt it needed to follow the culture in creating a church within the church which catered to the unique needs of this group, offering programs which could in their own way compete for the time and energies of this portion of the population.[8]

> Youth Rallies are the most significant and encouraging movement in our country today. It is doing exactly what everybody wanted done but no one knew what to suggest. Hundreds of young people are becoming vitally interested in Practical Christianity.
> In all great Revivals, Music has had an important part. Music is the basis of this movement. To attract the youth it must find "that happy medium." To do that we must have… just the right songs. This perfect selection could only be made by a man of wide experience in this particular field. This one man who has compiled the greatest number of books of this type is Al Smith. He is a successful song leader for Youth Rallies.[9]

Perhaps you have heard of Al Smith and *Singspiration*. Perhaps not. His work, along with the next generation of revivalistic composers and poets, (John Peterson, Ralph Carmichael, Cliff Barrows and others) shaped much of the musical devotional life of the Youth Movement, and the Christian home during those days.[10] The generational difference, and generational music that highlighted that difference, was a key element in the success of the movement. One of the side effects of this successful, generationally marketed movement, was the creation of a church that was cut off, not just from the musical traditions of the parents, but from the writings and confessions of catholic and truly evangelical Christianity.

Screwtape, again:

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[7] Schultze, p. 221
[8] Johnson, p. 56
[9] "Youth Rally: Songs and Choruses" Foreword. 1945!
[10] And perhaps a few Lutheran Sunday Schools, VBSchools, Day Schools and camps.

> To regard the ancient writer as a possible source of knowledge – to anticipate that what he said could possibly modify your thoughts or your behavior – this would be rejected as unutterably simple-minded. And since we cannot deceive the whole human race all the time, it is most important thus to cut every generation off from all others; for where learning [*and the liturgy? DM*] makes a free commerce between the ages there is always the danger that the characteristic errors of one may be corrected by the characteristic truths of another.[11]

Another effect of this generational marketing, which provided an alternate liturgical expression, was that many times the church was feeding the young with a diet that evaporated with the onset of the marketing for the next generation. Sadly, they had not been prepared for dinner at the adult table.[12]

> The market-driven rituals of evangelism and catechesis provided an entire generation with a new language for God that was not being used in worship. Herein lies the difficulty in moving teenagers from youth ministry into the church. Youth ministry sold Jesus to adolescents because it was relevant, entertaining, and they would "get something out of it". Now where would they worship?"[13]

The Church Growth Movement attempted to "spiff up" American Revivalism. It took advantage of the prolonged (never-ending?) adolescence of American society to create a church of the "happy medium" where adolescent Christians of all ages could express themselves in theological and musical vehicles which were as emotionally satisfying as possible.

The CGM suggests that because we live in a non-Christian society the music of the historic church is no longer able to carry the Gospel to the people.

> Music is the major vehicle for celebration and communication… the type of music that reaches people comes out of their culture. Culturally relevant music can be discovered by determining what radio stations most of your worship guests (not members) listen to…. Every survey will show that "soft rock" is the music of the majority of unchurched people in America. Music is THE ritual of our time. Music is replacing the written liturgy with which many Christians grew up. …It is the vehicle or conduit through which the message is conveyed."[14] In the paradigm communities music takes on a sacramental quality, and contributes to

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[11] Lewis, p. 151

[12] We Lutherans shoot ourselves in the foot when we go out of our tradition to find music and texts that seem to be more "child friendly" or "youth relevant"; we should not be surprised when youngsters who have been raised on a steady diet of emotional music with egocentric texts find their way into denominations that do a better job of manipulating the emotions and feeding the ego. Children will love whatever is set before them, if it is set before them in love. Why not teach them the liturgical songs and hymns that they can sing in church with their parents and grandparents? Why not teach them these songs so they can teach their parents and grandparents?

[13] Johnson, p. 59

[14] Easum, 84. This emphasis on the power of music shows how close most of American revivalism is to the charismatic movement in which music isn't just proof of the Spirit's presence, but is a power to bring the Spirit to man. Lutherans have a high view of music, but even in 18th century Leipzig it was not seen as a "means of grace"!

> the energetic and emotional call to a decisive encounter with Jesus Christ, the Lord. The music of the historic church cannot do this. "Long-haired music, funeral-dirge anthems, and stiff collared song leaders will kill the church faster than anything in the world. Let's set the record straight for a minute. There are no great vibrant, soul-winning churches reaching great numbers of people, baptizing hundreds of converts, reaching masses that have stiff music, seven-fold amens, and a steady diet of classical anthems. None. That's not a few. That's none, none, none."[15] Culturally relevant music is essential in a nonwhite world. Congregations that provide contemporary music attract people of all backgrounds. The Euro-centric stodginess that surrounds so much of the classical scene was perpetuated since the Reformation in order to keep out the riffraff. As long as classical music prevails in worship, the rank and file of the United States, most of whom will be of ethnic minorities by the middle of the twenty-first century, will continue to stay away from churches." [16]

One can only wonder that one musical style could have such an appeal across the culturally diverse population! One must also wonder how the use of the "soft rock" style can encourage the faithful to "be willing to spend our lives even unto death in order to turn society upside down and dismantle the sacred cows that bind us to a cultural religion. Can a self-centered culture, possessed with the fountain of youth, ever contemplate radical commitment?"[17]

Where can the generationally innovative community of faith discover music which is the antithesis of the self-centered culture? Is "pop" music capable of carrying the message of the cross? Are innovative measures (and musical styles) neutral tools which may be used to present the Gospel in its accessibility and depth without compromising the message?

> I am not proposing that the substance of the Gospel be changed. I am proposing that we need to radically change the way we package and proclaim the substance of the Gospel. [18] Effective worship today grows out of the culture of the area. The style and form is comfortable to those attending worship from the non-Christian world. The message remains the same, but the package in which the message is conveyed is conditioned by the culture of the times.[19]

Confessing Lutherans may be drawn in by the notion that all innovative paradigms in ecclesiology and worship are, in fact, adiaphora. Yet, the Gospel substance which is consistent with evangelical revivalism must (of marketable necessity) be a new and improved (reduced) form of that message which is delivered by the church.

> Are we able to affirm that Jesus Christ is Lord without becoming bigots? Is it possible for us to leave the Christological question to God and at the same time

[15] J. Bisagno, quoted in Easum, p. 85
[16] Easum, p. 90
[17] Johnson, p. 56
[18] Easum, p. 14
[19] Easum, p. 81-82

> passionately help people connect with God through Jesus Christ?[20] "Jesus Christ is Lord" was the dominant theme of these early Christian communities... The Pauline kerygma made sure that the early church remained grounded in the simple creedal formula, "Jesus Christ is Lord"… Once they affirmed that "Jesus Christ is Lord," the Holy Spirit took control… Peter's sermon on the day of Pentecost provides us the most primitive and basic response of the early Christians to the Holy Spirit. Jesus is the fulfillment of the Old Testament prophecy. He lived, died, was resurrected, and was exalted to the right hand of God. Jesus (not God) then poured forth the Holy Spirit… This is first century Christianity… The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds are far too removed from early Christianity and too steeped in the situation of the institutional church to be of any help to us today.[21]

Many of the innovative models set before us do not arise from a theological neutrality. Easum's appraisal of the creeds provides us with an honest picture of the theological neverland of many congregations which claim to be first-century Christians in a post-Christian world. Much of modern day revivalism presents a suburban Arianism (Jesus is Lord! Let's Just Praise His Name!) which may, only by an accident of grace or a felicitous inconsistency, proclaim the Christ of the scriptures to those who claim to have found their way into the household of faith.

Revivalistic Christianity is only one voice in the chorus singing the siren song of innovation. Another treasured spring of American cultural expression, liberalism, with its emphasis on a spiritual self-realization, has found its way into the church through the door of modern liturgical theology.

On July 15, 1838, Ralph Waldo Emerson delivered an address to the graduates of Divinity College in Cambridge, as they set forth to become preachers of the truth. This address emphasizes that the search for God has its goal in the discovery of self.

> Jesus Christ belonged to the true race of prophets. He saw with open eye the mystery of the soul. Drawn by its severe harmony, ravished with its beauty, he lived in it, and had his being there. Alone in all history, he estimated the greatness of man. One man was true to what is in you and me. He saw that God incarnates himself in man, and evermore goes forth anew to take possession of his world. He said, in this jubilee of sublime emotion, `I am divine. Through me, God acts; through me, speaks. Would you see God, see me; or, see thee, when thou also thinkest as I now think.' But what a distortion did his doctrine and memory suffer in the same, in the next, and the following ages…
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> Historical Christianity has fallen into the error that corrupts all attempts to communicate religion. As it appears to us, and as it has appeared for ages, it is not the doctrine of the soul, but an exaggeration of the personal, the positive, the ritual. It has dwelt, it dwells, with noxious exaggeration about the *person* of Jesus.

[20] Easum, p. 56
[21] Easum, p. 50-53

> The soul knows no persons. It invites every man to expand to the full circle of the universe, and will have no preferences but those of spontaneous love…
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> That is always best which gives me to myself. The sublime is excited in me by the great stoical doctrine, Obey thyself. That which shows God in me, fortifies me. That which shows God out of me, makes me a wart and a wen. There is no longer a necessary reason for my being.[22]

Emerson's sentiments may seem out of place in a discussion of innovation in liturgy, yet when we consider the parallel histories of the development of liturgical theology and the growth of liberalism it is not so far-fetched.

During the nineteenth century various denominations discovered the treasury of liturgical practice which had been lost during the time of evangelicalism, pietism, revolution and rationalism. The Roman Catholic Church rediscovered the chant and the liturgical year. The Anglican Church was invigorated by the doctrine and practice of the Oxford and Cambridge-Camden movements. The Lutheran churches rediscovered the sixteenth and seventeenth century church orders and the old rhythmic forms and the original texts of the chorale. Most of these developments took place beneath an umbrella of historic Trinitarian orthodoxy.

By the beginning of the next century modernistic thought, higher criticism and the history of religions movement had gouged the orthodox heart out of much of liturgical Christianity, leaving behind a shell of ritual and form.

The old liturgical denominations were forced to find a rationale for their cultivation of the rites and rituals which had now become the chief form of expression and "confession" for their lifeless creeds. Lambert Beauduin and Odo Casel taught the Roman Catholics that the body and blood of Christ were not so much to be found in the chalice and the hands of the priests as they were in the mystical gathering of the real, flesh and blood body of the worshipping congregation. Gregory Dix conjured up a transubstantiated God whose presence could be manipulated by the shape of the liturgical form. Yngve Brilioth, along with most liturgical scholars, denied the historic reality of the Maundy Thursday event, while clinging to the truth of Christ's presence in, with and under the gathered community.

In their flight from the historic, miraculous events of our redemption these liturgical scholars offered a magical mystery tour of liturgical action (liturgy=the work of the people) by which God is created in man by man. Consequently the liturgy "lex orandi" became the preeminent environment, the "source and summit" for the divine/human encounter.[23] In this sense much of liturgical theology resonates with Emerson's Divinity School Address. "What is handed on by liturgical tradition is not some pile of

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[22] Divinity School Address; http://www.emersoncentral.com/divaddr.htm. A "wen" is a large, engorged boil on the skin.
[23] Fagerberg, 220.

propositions about Jesus, or a collection of rubrics about the Mass; it is our very deification."[24]

Innovations set forth in liturgical theology have been embraced by mainline denominations as well as the emerging and emergent churches. We are invited to use the ancient forms as an exercise in heightened personal spirituality. Our work (gathering, word, meal, sending[25]) is the action which the church has used through her history to conjure up the Divine Presence. God is in us, and, more to the point, God IS us. This belief will muddy the waters of ritual direction, and ritual role. Who is the congregation? How do they proclaim God's word to one another? Who is singing the following text?

> Go, my children, with my blessing…
> I, the Lord, will bless and keep you And give you peace
> I, the Lord will smile upon you And give you peace
> I, the Lord will be your Father, Savior, Comforter and Brother.[26]

This hymn enjoys popularity across denominational lines, and combined with a beloved tune it has found its way into use at the end of many services which are already emotion-packed (Baptism, Confirmation, graduation, wedding, funeral). What does such a poem in such an environment teach about God? Is it an affirmation of Emersonian thought, or is it a presentation of the doctrine of God's love set forth by means of a unique poetic device and an unexpected liturgico-dramatic posture? The notion that God is to be found in us is a pervasive notion in our culture. Should our liturgical usage imply such a notion?[27]

Worship in many modern churches is seen as an activity directed towards God. "Paradigm communities focus worship on God… For these congregations, worship is for the purpose of adoring and praising God for who God is and what God can do in our lives. Worship is vertical. Worship emphasizes the mystery and majesty of God."[28] Note the ritual direction in this worship model. In this regard the proponents of Church Growth Missional Revivalism and the Liturgical Theology which is colored by classic Liberalism may be astonished to wake up in the same bed. "It is the Body of Christ honoring God that gives life to the worship service."[29] "…the hymns should be devotional rather than didactic or homiletical, and their direction Godward, not manward… and each hymn, being an act of worship, should be exalted in language, noble in thought and reverent in feeling."[30] "It must be a primary objective of the liturgical revival of our own day to recover the objective expression of corporate faith and worship in the service whose

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[24] Fagerberg, 227.
[25] *Evangelical Lutheran Worship*, Augsburg Fortress, 2006, p. 92-93
[26] "Go, My Children With My Blessing", Jaroslav J. Vajda, , 1983.
[27] *Evangelical Lutheran Worship* 543 deletes the final stanza and puts the other stanzas in quotation marks. It is interesting that the editors of ELW, a book which embraces the practices of modern liturgical theology, seemed to sense the potentially confusing doctrine taught in this text. It is not my point to demonize this poem, (it's already established itself as an emotionally invested "favorite" in much of American Christianity) but I hope that it serves as an example of how a seemingly innocuous text can bring with it the leaven of dubious teaching.
[28] Easum, 82.
[29] Easum, 82, 83
[30] *Service Book and Hymnal*, 1958, p. 286

name means the *THANKSGIVING*. The eucharist must take its right place as the central act of congregational praise."[31] This vertical man to God activity of congregational praise which gives life to the worship service is, primarily, a Mt. Sinai activity.

The church which has been gathered around the "It is finished" of the OTHER mount will exhibit a different posture and attitude in Divine Service.

Innovation and Our Tradition

The temple curtain was torn, and the old order passed away. The Lord's liturgical laws "Go, preach, teach, baptize", "Do This in memory of me", "When you pray, pray thus" are fulfilled by His concrete presence and His formal activity, "When you forgive, they are forgiven", "for you", "for the remission of sins", "do not doubt that your prayer has been heard", "I am with you always, even unto the end." The early Christian community was indebted to the worship traditions of the old, and it borrowed freely from that tradition in the development of formulas to present the divine forms of Word and Sacrament.

Freedom, tempered by order and decency, was a key concept in the early church, and a diversity of liturgical orders developed as the church grew in various parts of the world. By the year 600 Christianity had spread "to encompass the entire Mediterranean world and the rest of the Roman Empire which covered Europe west of the Rhine and Danube. Christianity reached even beyond the empire in Ireland, Armenia, and Persia. This growth brought a wide variety of peoples of different cultures and languages to allegiance to Jesus Christ. All these peoples developed distinctive forms of worship, contributing their own cultural characteristics, yet preserving an essential unity. Tracing this unity in diversity is difficult because similar developments often came at different times in different places."[32] During these centuries the church lived through times of intense persecution, emerging from a time of tolerance as the religion of the realm. This would have significant impact on the ways of worship. The shift was reflected in a move from freedom to more uniform formulas.

The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus (3rd century) prescribes texts for prayers, while allowing for the concession that "it is not at all necessary for him [the bishop] to utter the same words as we said above… If indeed anyone has the ability to pray at length and with a solemn prayer, it is good… Only, he must pray what is sound and orthodox."[33] Local practices and customs were reflected in various liturgical uses, but by the fourth century there is a greater emphasis on formal practice (written, or set liturgical texts), based on the primary evidence at hand.[34] Diversity existed throughout the church, and it seems that the early popes would allow for the cultivation of this diversity, at least

[31] Brilioth, p. 278
[32] White, , p. 40
[33] White, p. 43. One assumes that the liturgist would be able to exercise the various rhetorical "canons" associated with liturgical prayer (form, progression of thought, correct teaching)… it would seem unlikely that the A.T. would be speaking approvingly of an off-the-cuff "we just" prayer.
[34] White, p. 43

outside of their sphere of influence. Consider the following advice given to Augustine of Canterbury by Pope Gregory I in 596:

> Your brotherhood is familiar with the usage of the Roman Church since you have very pleasant memories of being raised and nurtured in that usage. But it seems to me that you should carefully select for the English Church, which is still new to the faith and developing as a distinct community, whatever can best please Almighty God, whether you discover it in the Roman Church, or among the Gauls, or anywhere else. For customs are not to be revered for their place of origin; rather those places are to be respected for the good customs they produce. From each individual church, therefore, choose whatever is holy, whatever is awe-inspiring, whatever is right; then arrange what you have collected as if in a little bouquet according to the English disposition and thus establish them as custom.[35]

Church leaders were not always so benign in their assessment of local concession, however. At the time of Charlemagne the churches of the Frankish kingdoms were moving towards a liturgical unity which at times seemed to "out-Rome" the Roman church. Charlemagne realized the important role a unified liturgical rite could play in unifying an otherwise diverse realm. Song Schools were established with the chief goals of teaching enough Latin so that the texts of the liturgy would be the same from place to place, teaching enough music so that the tunes used in the liturgy would be recognizable from place to place, and teaching enough math so that the church calendar would be observed with a higher degree of uniformity. The bishops rallied to the call for a uniform usage, and in time the leaders of the church in the Germanic kingdoms established the primacy of Latin language, music of the Latin church, and the full Frankish-Roman liturgy for use in parishes and cathedrals of the realm.[36]

That this Latinized uniformity was something of a novel innovation is illustrated by the story of Cyril and Methodius. In the ninth century,

> Moravia was on its way to becoming Christian under German influence but the German missionaries insisted on Latin and could not preach or instruct in the local language. The people were much put off by this. Constantinople regarded this area as well as Bulgaria as in its sphere of influence, both political and ecclesiastical. News came of events in Moravia and eventually two brothers, one Constantine (later Cyril) and Methodius were sent to the region…If the Moravians were to be converted and if they were to be able to worship with understanding, it would be necessary to evangelise them in their own language and to worship in it. Cyril then set to work and produce a liturgy and translations of part of the Bible in Glagolitic thus giving the people a literary language for the first time… The people accepted their teaching and their liturgy.

[35] White, p. 44
[36] Foley, p. 137.

> News of this mission reached Rome about 867 and the two brothers were invited to Rome. The pope, Hadrian II, had the liturgical books examined and approved of the brave and intelligent innovations of the two missionaries.[37] Unhappily, Cyril died in Rome where he was given a splendid funeral (869). Methodius was consecrated archbishop and appointed to the ancient see of Sirmium in Pannonia (Yugoslavia) and the regions to the North and the East, including of course Moravia… It was a turbulent time and there was great struggle between the Moravians and the Germans.
>
> To be brief, Methodius was imprisoned for two years in a tower in Bavaria where he suffered greatly. A new pope (John VIII) heard of this, he strongly condemned the Germans and Methodius was released. His mission was inhibited by the ruler of Moravia who was a turn-coat, accusations about his orthodoxy were made and the pope called him to Rome. Methodius completely justified himself, his orthodoxy and his use of a liturgical language understood by the people. The pope was satisfied and sent Methodius back with a strong letter confirming him as archbishop and the use of Glagolitic. Incredibly, however the pope also appointed a German, Wiching, as a suffragen to Methodius and he proved to be Methodius' worst enemy. Falsifying the papal letter he proclaimed that Methodius had not received any `concessions'…when the pope heard of this he repudiated the faked letter and stated that Methodius was right and the he, the pope, had not changed his views."[38]

This ninth century struggle foreshadows the liturgical reforms of the sixteenth century. Though the church of Rome would allow for a Slavic vernacular liturgy (concessions continued to be granted through the years) she would not extend this tolerance to most of her regional churches until ten centuries after Methodius' death.

Despite the triumph of Latin as the chief liturgical language, and with the reassertion of a "pure" Roman ordo after the second Gregorian reform[39] some national, regional and local custom remained, especially where local custom had found a place in the common heart and spiritual experience of the people.[40]

We are aware of Luther's concerns regarding innovation in worship. He was somewhat hesitant to take up the pen to assist in what he knew was a necessary work. He was aware of the power of ritual and custom, especially as they related to the actual faith-life of the people. The liturgy was not the place to demand a shibbolethic confession. Yet he wisely realized the need for an innovative liturgical reform following the example of

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[37] Not only were the books in the vernacular, but the order of mass did not so much reflect the traditions of the Franco-Roman order or the Roman order so much as orders from the East.

[38] Crichton, pp.134-135. Methodius returned to Constantinople where he finished his translation of the Bible. He died in 884.

[39] Oxford History, p. 197, 225

[40] Scribner, p.105-106. Even today local customs and traditions which may seem strange, or even wrong, to outsiders may play a significant role in the devotional life and piety of a congregation or community of faith. It takes wisdom, patience and genuine charity to see the value in some of these customs, and here, especially we need to be gentle with those who are truly the "weaker" members of the family.

Hezekiah,[41] especially when the "spiritualists" foolishly insisted upon a radical iconoclastic approach to worship renewal.

Where change and innovation took place in the Lutheran sphere it was important for the church to say, "in doctrine and in ceremonies, nothing has been allowed by us that is against Scripture or the Church Catholic, since it is obvious that we have been very careful that no new and ungodly doctrine should creep into our churches."[42]

Where there was a school and a choir and, consequently a congregation, which understood Latin, then the treasure house of the purified Latin mass tradition could stand. Where no such school existed, then the congregation should take the place of the choir and sing the mass tradition in their own language. In *Formula Missae* (1523) and *Deutsche Messe* (1525-26) we note Luther's preservation of a recognizable Latin "blueprint", as well as new and old music which would allow the gathering to say and sing the good news from heaven above.

Luther didn't just change the window dressing. His liturgical scalpel was used with skill and precision to cut out the malignancy. The canon of the mass, that prayer which turned the sacrament into a sacrifice, was deleted. This simple action swept away centuries of questionable tradition, and, while it was probably unnoticed by the congregation (it was prayed in a whisper as the choir sang while the priest was turned away from the people) it created a seismic wave which shook the papal throne in Rome. As long as the canon, and all the texts and rituals which supported its anthropocentric (idolatrous) teachings were eliminated all else could stand or fall, so long as the Gospel was taught in its purity and the Sacraments rightly administered.[43]

The Lutheran Church favored ordered worship, and while Luther's orders were not followed slavishly they pointed the way for the various regional and national churches in their own reformation-renovation-innovation. Some of the orders were quite conservative, favoring the Choral-Latin tradition where cultivated music with a prose text was presented in the historic language of the church; others encouraged a greater involvement by a vernacularized "choir" where metrical music with a rhyming poetry blossomed forth into the Chorale Service; most used elements of both traditions. While there was a breadth of practice throughout Lutheranism there was a concern for uniformity and consistency within the confessional liturgical practice of a given city, region or nation. The movement towards a fairly detailed uniformity of text and

[41] See Melanhthon's "Propositions on the Mass, 1521", esp. 48, 49 "The abuse of the mass ought to be abolished by the magistrates. It should be done in the same manner in which Hezekiah destroyed the bronze serpent, or just as Josiah demolished the high places." Selected Writings, p. 66.

[42] AC, ELH p. 28

[43] It was an innovation for the Lutherans to insist that the Words of Institution should be sung or said clearly and loudly in the vernacular. This practice points to the crux of Lutheran worship: "for the words *for you* require truly believing hearts; whoever believes these words has exactly what they say, namely, the forgiveness of sins." The service is constructed so that, week after week, each participant in the liturgy can depart with this clear and simple prayer: *O Jesus, Grant that justified I may Go to my house with peace from Thee.* (ELH 493)

consistency in practice would have been impossible without the newer information technologies of the sixteenth century printing industry.[44]

Many of the church orders were tied to Wittenberg thought through the work of the city pastor, Johannes Bugenhagen (1485-1558). Bugenhagen was frequently called or sent to various cities to put things in evangelical order. The work of evangelical ordering involved prescriptions for worship, of course, but his church orders also give fairly detailed instructions pertaining to the dissolution and renewed use of ecclesiastical property, the role of civic government, educational institutions, care of the poor and needy and the community chest. For our purposes we will examine aspects of the liturgical order for the kingdom of Denmark and Norway, as these orders are directly related to our worship life in the ELS.

In August of 1536 Christian III requested Bugenhagen's assistance with the establishment of an ordered Lutheran practice in the Danish realm. Bugenhagen and his "retinue" arrived in Copenhagen on July 5, and following what must have been a whirlwind of activity in the intervening weeks, presided at the coronation of the king and queen on August 12 (we have Bugenhagen's manuscript as well as a first-hand account of this interesting liturgy) and the investiture of the seven Lutheran bishops on September 2 (according to a rite he prepared for the occasion). On the same day the king announced the completion of the *Ordinatio Ecclesiastica Regnorum Daniae et Norwegiae*. The order was officially adopted by the parliament on June 10, 1539, at which time it also appeared in Danish. Bugenhagen's release from Wittenberg was extended to that date. In the meantime he visited the parishes and schools of Denmark (within six months of the investiture), reorganized the university of Copenhagen, lectured there, and, for a time served as university "president". In his spare time he translated the *Wittenberg Visitation Instructions* into Latin, and began a Latin translation of his lectures on the Psalms for the students at Copenhagen. He also maintained a regular correspondence with the king who was frequently out of Copenhagen. The correspondence reveals a mutual respect and understanding, as well as a close friendship.[45]

In 1542 the Danish translation of Bugenhagen's order was adopted for use as *Den rette ordinans for kirketjenesten I Danmark og Norge*. In 1568 a royal pronouncement stipulated that the liturgy as it was practiced in the Church of Our Lady in Copenhagen should provide the model for all of the churches; by 1604 the Norwegian bishops presented a translation of the church order for approval to Copenhagen. The final, sanctioned Norwegian order of 1607 corresponds completely to the order of 1537.[46] Thus Bugenhagen's influence, and the liturgical ideals of Wittenberg, developed from innovation to tradition in the Norwegian church. What did the Danish-Norwegian Mass look like?

[44] Rome's insistence upon universal usage of the Tridentine rite after 1570 would also have been impossible without the modern printing technology.
[45] Bergsma, 117-119
[46] Oxford History, p. 427-428

In appearance the service looked very much like the pre-Reformation liturgy. The pastor was vested in the usual vestments (alb, chasuble). The altar was also vested with the usual paraments, chalice, candles, etc.

The pastor, kneeling at the altar, would read his Confiteor, and pray for the preaching of the Gospel, for the king, and for the government, while the Introit or Psalm proper to the day was sung. Where there was no choir a Norwegian hymn was sung.

The Kyrie eleison was sung according to the melody proper to the day or season. Then the pastor would intone the Song of the Angels (in Norwegian on regular Sundays or Latin on the festivals) and the congregation would continue the song until its conclusion.

The pastor, turning to the congregation, would sing the salutation and the choir would respond. Then, turning to the altar, he would pray one or two collects, proper to the day, or appropriate for the needs of the time. The people answer "Amen".

Then the pastor would turn to the congregation and read the Epistle for the day, in Norwegian, after which the children would sing Alleluia (the eternal song of the church) and the appropriate verse. Then a Gradual of two verses, or a Norwegian hymn would be sung. On Festival days one of the old (but pure) Sequence hymns (Christmas to Presentation: Grates nunc omnes; Easter to Pentecost: Victimae paschali laudes; Pentecost: Veni Sancte Spiritus) would be sung in alternation with the appropriate vernacular hymn.

Then the pastor would turn to the people and read the Gospel for the day, in Norwegian, after which he would turn again to the altar and sing, "Credo in unum deum" followed by the congregation singing, "We All Believe in One True God, Who Created…".

The sermon would follow, in the vernacular, of course, but never to last longer than one hour. At the end of the sermon the pastor would bid the people to pray, including petitions for all spiritual and temporal needs, concluding with the Lord's Prayer. Then the schoolmaster would lead the singing of a vernacular hymn for peace (Grant peace, we pray) or another hymn. At times the Litany and a Collect would have been sung or said, the people responding, "Amen".

If there were any communicants the pastor would go to the altar to prepare the bread and wine. He would then turn to the communicants and read an Exhortation. Then, facing the altar, he would sing the Lord's Prayer in a loud voice followed by the Words of Institution, which of all parts of the service must always be in the vernacular. On the high festivals the Preface, proper preface and Sanctus would have been sung (in Latin) between the Exhortation and the Lord's Prayer, and the Agnus Dei would follow the Words of Institution.

> It was very important that the sacristan would have prepared the right amount of elements for the number of communicants so that the Institution would not need to be sung or said again during the communion.
>
> The schoolmaster directed the singing of "Jesus Christ, Our Blessed Savior" and other hymns during the communion, as they were needed for the duration of the distribution.
>
> Then the pastor would turn again to the people for the Salutation and, facing the altar, pray the Collect of Thanks, and the people would answer "Amen". Finally, facing the people, the pastor blessed the congregation according to the form of Numbers 6. The cantor would then lead the singing of a short closing hymn, in Norwegian, while the pastor removed the mass vestments and knelt at the altar for a private prayer of thanks.

The following paragraph describes the practice which is sometimes referred to as the ante-communion service. Bugenhagen did not include this rubric because he felt the supper was offered too frequently. The Lutheran Reformers never imagined a situation in which the sacrament would not be included in the Sunday or festival service. Non-communion services happened on occasion, because there really were NO communicants. By the sixteenth century the church had encouraged the development of some bad habits in regard to the sacrament of the altar. The cup was withheld from the laity, and the "required" Easter communion (with its obligatory Holy Week confession and penance) was the one time in the year when most of the faithful communed. Because of the emphasis on the priestly consecration of the elements it had become habit to think of viewing the elevation as a sacramental activity with the same, or greater, blessings than the actual reception. The sacramental gaze provided the faithful with a vicarious participation in the sacrament, even when no eating or drinking occurred.[47] The people were not accustomed to a regular reception, and it was many years in some places before Eucharistic reception replaced the older practices of Eucharistic piety. Likewise superstitious misuse of the sacrament was common in the world where the Reformation took hold. For that reason Bugenhagen addressed the danger of over-consecration in this rubric. Consecrated elements were deemed to have curative power, and more than a few unscrupulous sextons and sacristans had leant their hand to the cultivation of superstitious habits through the "sale" of bits of consecrated host, Eucharistic candle wax, used coffin nails, etc. We see that the rationale behind this liturgical innovation was deeply practical, namely to avoid "misuse of the sacrament". So,

> if there were no communicants there would be no consecration, for a consecration without communicants would be a misuse of the sacrament. Instead the pastor, vested in an alb without the chasuble, would stand in the pulpit for the pulpit service and prayers, and the service would conclude with the singing of one or two hymns and the usual Benediction.[48]

[47] Scribner, p. 261
[48] Bergsma, 121-127

The Lutheran body of hymnody grew in Denmark and Norway even as the liturgical blueprint stayed the same. The increase in churchly song, along with what must have been the people's love for this song, tended to nudge the prose songs of the liturgy out of the way. The first official Danish hymnal was published in 1569 with 268 hymns set to 203 different melodies which were drawn from Gregorian melodies, German chorale tunes, and original and folk melodies from the Danish realm (Hans Thomissøn). The *Gradual,* or *General Song Book* of 1573 contained music for the service arranged *de tempore*, or according to the order of the Sundays and Festivals (Niels Jesperssøn). Much of the music was designed to fit the needs of the academic/Latin (choral) congregation, and included the Introits and Alleluias for the church year, and music for the choral ordinary, and the sequence hymns. Danish hymns were also included for those places where Latin would not have been used or where there was no school choir.[49]

Gradually the Danish hymn service took over completely, so that by 1685 the prose texts had been replaced by a service in which hymns were sung throughout the service for both the ordinary and proper texts (seven hymns before and five after the sermon).[50] In 1644 one of the Danish bishops sent a diocesan letter in which he suggested the use of an opening prayer and a closing prayer which could be said be a layman at the appropriate time. These little prayers were embraced by the churches, and found their way into the "new books" of the 1680's.[51]

In 1685 *Danmarks og Norgis Kirke-Ritual* was published. This order "enshrined" the hymn mass and the other innovative developments of the Danish liturgy; 1688 saw the publication of an Altar Book which presented the liturgies in a practical format, and finally, after at least two "false starts", a *de tempore* hymnal, or *Gradual*, in 1699. Because this hymnal included such a large number of texts by Thomas Kingo (85) it is often referred to as *Kingo's Hymnal*. Kingo, like the German Gerhardt, stands at the pinnacle of his craft, and his hymns are still beloved by the faithful in Denmark and Norway and in our own circles.

What did the 1685 order look like? In many ways the service was identical to that set forth in the earlier *Ritual*; the development of hymnody in the Dano-Norwegian church had provided congregations with more *de tempore* liturgical hymns, as well as Gospel hymns for the Sundays and Festivals. This order included some of them, but the majority remain as they were in the previous order. An examination of the table of contents reminds us that the *Ritual* was a book that ordered many aspects of parish life beyond the details of the liturgical service:[52]

> Chapter One: The Divine Service in the Church
> Chapter Two: Baptism

[49] Blume, 614
[50] Oxford History, 428, Blume 615
[51] Oxford History, 428
[52] These details included instructions concerning the length of organ hymn introductions, the proper ringing of the bells, the use of the chasuble, the rate and volume of the liturgist's voice, what a sermon should NOT include, how a sermon should NOT be delivered, etc.

Chapter Three: On Women in Childbirth, Midwives, and the Churching of Women after their Childbirth
Chapter Four: Confession and Absolution
Chapter Five: The Sacrament of Christ's Holy Supper
Chapter Six: How One shall Deal with the Afflicted, Possessed, Imprisoned, and Evildoers
Chapter Seven: Excommunication and Absolution from Excommunication
Chapter Eight: Marriage
Chapter Nine: Death and Burial
Chapter Ten: Consecration of Bishops and Ordination of Pastors
Chapter Eleven: How Provosts are Installed
Oaths Which the Clerics Make before their Bishop, each according to his Call[53]

It may be justifiably asserted that the hymn-mass innovation of Denmark and Norway represents a significant departure from the catholic traditionalism of the Lutheran choral liturgy, but it is important to remember that the prescribed hymn texts were faithful to the classic liturgical texts they replaced, and their *de tempore* arrangement in publication and in actual use contributed to a lively and popular understanding of the church year and the order of service which they taught.

Many of the hymn tunes took on local flavor as they were passed from place to place and generation to generation. The Kingo tunes were often ornamented by the local song leader (klokker) so that they were virtually unrecognizable from one fjord to the next. This rich and varied development of churchly folk song can hardly be called innovative, but it does point to the way the song of the Danish hymn mass became part of the woof and weave of Lutheran devotion in the kingdoms of the North. In this way local musical flavor combined with catholic structure where the 1685 rite was used.

Even though the liturgical rite was in force by law in Denmark and Norway, the congregational song (a huge part of the rite) both generated and absorbed new traditions and modes of musical and poetic expression through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries[54]: Crueger, Freylinghausen and Brorson in Pontoppidan's *Den nye Psalmebog*, 1740, 1742; Schiørring's *Choral-Bog* of 1783 which introduced some new material from the time of the Reformation as well as melodic simplification and the isometric "equal note" form of the chorale; Zinck's *Choral Melodier* of 1801 for the 1798 hymnal; C.E.F. Weyse's revision of the *Choral Melodier* in 1839; a chorale book by Berggreen, 1855 which included music for many of Grundtvig's texts; Rung, 1857, both for the 1855 hymnal designed for "church and home"; and, in Norway, L.M. Lindeman in 1870 for Landstads *Salmebog* (1869), and the *Koralbog* in 1878, along with new music for the revised rite of 1685.[55] It can hardly be said that the use of an ordered liturgical life stifles creativity or contemporary expression!

[53] Church Ritual, tr. DeGarmeaux, 1994
[54] This generation and absorption has been an important characteristic of the ways the Lutheran church uses the musical art in the liturgy.
[55] Blume, 616, 617, 622

In 1814 Danish sovereignty no longer applied to Norway. A constitution was adopted on May 17. A new emphasis on nationalism turned the eyes of composers and poets to the folk traditions of Norway's liturgy. New hymns and tunes were written to reflect the Lutheran folk heritage; the best, and those which have endured, seem to grow naturally from the chorale tradition. A formal course in liturgical study was added to the practical seminary curriculum in 1849. Landstad's 1869 hymnal followed the *de tempore* arrangement and included the hymns for the choral ordinary as well. In 1887 a "new" order for high mass was followed in 1889 by the *Altarbook*; this order replaced the hymnic paraphrases with the restored texts of the prose mass, and shared many of the traditional elements set forth in the *Common Service*, 1888, of American Lutheranism.[56]

The Danish-Norwegian rite was transplanted to America during the early days of the nineteenth century liturgical awakening. Johannes Wilhelm Christian Dietrichson arrived in the country of Emerson and Finney in 1844. He was well acquainted with the spiritual "liturgy" of the followers of Hans Nielsen Hauge at home, and was made even more keenly aware of the sectarian nature of Christianity in the United States and its territories during his summer journey from New York to Wisconsin. Armed with the Scripture and the *Ritual* (and a strong Grundtvigian sense of divine presence through word and ritual action) this missionary from the Norwegian state church was determined to gather the faithful around the Sacrament and living Word by means of an ordered and disciplined ecclesiology, hardly a common-sense approach in the rough and tumble world of the frontier Norwegian *diaspora.*

After he had established his residence in a little hut in Koshkonong he wrote:

> Now I was ready to begin work, and the first item on the agenda was to bring about orderly church life. On my first visit here, as in the other colonies, I confined myself to holding services for all who wanted to take part, in the hope of awakening a conscious longing among the immigrants to maintain a relationship with the fatherland's true church and its edifying order. However, it was clear to me that in order to organize congregations among the immigrants, it was absolutely necessary to get a definite statement from them whether, in this land of the free, they intended to depart from the Norwegian Lutheran church and its discipline or to stick to it. I soon realized that certain basic rules had to be adopted for the organization of a congregation; the form in which this should be embodied now became the subject of my earnest deliberations. As a result, I drew up the following questions: Do you desire to belong to the Norwegian Lutheran congregation here? To that end, are you willing to submit to the church order which the Church of Norway requires? Do you promise that hereafter you will not accept or acknowledge anyone as your minister and pastor unless he can prove that he is a rightly called and regularly ordained Lutheran pastor according to the order of the Church of Norway? And will you render the pastor, thus called to be your clerical authority, the deference and obedience that a church member owes his pastor in everything he may require in conformity with the church *Ritual* of your fatherland Norway? Will you, by signing your name or by permitting

[56] Oxford History, 430, 431

> your name to be signed, avow that you join this church on the basis of the foregoing conditions?[57]

Dietrichson's clear, and perhaps to our ears, severe requirements for church membership were based on his understanding that Christians in a free society, establishing a free church with a voluntary membership, might well be buffeted about by various claims of churchly veracity based on emotion, manipulative innovation and the "good" intentions and successful endeavors of self-appointed ministers or spuriously ordained pastors.

> The reasons which led me to adopt these regulations in this manner were as follow: It was plainly apparent to me that it was my duty to gather and bring back the scattered and, in part, confused members of the Norwegian Lutheran church. Consequently, the first question for the immigrants, who in America have complete freedom to organize a church body by whatever method they deem best, is whether or not they were willing voluntarily to declare themselves members of a Lutheran congregation.
>
> It was also clear to me that in the formation of such a congregation by a pastor, bound by the ministerial oath of the Norwegian church, and by a people for whom the church order of the fatherland must be precious, there can be no thought whatsoever of creating a new system. We must build upon the *Ritual*…
>
> The reason for the churchly confusion is for the most part a lack of appreciation of the meaning of the call, examination, and ordination to the holy ministry. Since they longed to share in the blessing of the church, they turned to self-made preachers who only further confused their sense of order…
>
> I am well aware that a pastor is a servant of the congregation. But I also know that, correctly understood, it is not being papistic[58], as some American sects like to assert, to demand that a member of the congregation regard his shepherd as his ecclesiastical superior and show him obedience within those limits by which he, as a servant of the church, is bound. What else is this except the apostle's admonition, "Obey your superiors in the Lord?"
>
> Furthermore, I sought to call the attention of my dear countrymen to the fact that if they want to enjoy the great blessing of church orderliness, they must accept certain rules. While these do restrict religious freedom, they are nevertheless indispensable to a congregation.[59]

In the short time that Dietrichson had been in America he had astutely, and correctly, identified the challenges facing Lutheranism in an environment tempered by the spirit of frontier pragmatism. He understood that a clear voluntary subscription was necessary as

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[57] Nelson, 79, 153

[58] We might be tempted to call Dietrichson a legalist, yet when we sense that his use of the *Ritual* as a framework which placed the Gospel at the center of church life (and a church life of VOLUNTARY association) this is a misnomer.

[59] Nelson, 79-80

there were those who would be confused followers and others who would lead the immigrants into the theology and practice of the American Methodists and Baptists beneath the Lutheran "label". Many of the immigrants accepted the discipline outlined by their pastor, voluntarily binding themselves to the order of the *Ritual*. Others, according to his travel narrative and parish journal, were not disposed towards a system of church life which reminded them too much of the churchly class system they had so gladly left behind in their not-so-beloved fatherland.

Dietrichson returned to Norway in 1845 but was back in Wisconsin in September of 1846. During the next four years he would go beyond the work of establishing individual parishes to laying the foundation for the free association of congregations in a synod. We see in the early attempts to arrive at a suitable constitution the liturgical allegiance that would mark the church life of the Norwegian Synod. In 1849 he presented a "Proposed Constitution for the Church of Norway in America". Article III reads, "The ceremonies or external rites of worship shall be performed in accordance with the Dano-Norwegian *Ritual* of 1685 and the *Altar Book* in use in those kingdoms, modified, however, as the church in synod may decide."[60]

According to the Koshkonong Parish Journal, "It was agreed that a synod should study the question of what changes should be made in the church ritual of our fatherland because of conditions existing in this country, though the delegates opposed any change whatever in the external customs of worship which can be performed here. In this connection, Pastor Dietrichson called attention to certain changes that he considered appropriate."[61] We do not have an account of what those changes might have been, but it seems most logical that they may have been those portions of the *Ritual* which required specific prayers for the government of Norway.[62]

An actual synod never took place during Dietrichson's tenure in Wisconsin, so the issue of the constitution would rest in the hands of his successor at Koshkonong. A resolution concerning the basic constitution of the Koshkonong congregation was adopted on August 21, 1849. In this parish constitution the issue of liturgical order is presented in words which echo the preliminary synodical constitution.

> The ceremonies, or outward rites of worship, as well as the church order in the congregation, shall be carried out in accordance with the *Ritual* of 1685 of the Church of Norway and Denmark and the *Altar Book* prescribed fur use in the same kingdoms, modified by the pastor as he thinks necessary because of conditions existing in this country.[63]

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[60]Nelson, 199
[61]Nelson, 197
[62] When our synodical constitution requires/recommends that each congregation use the 1685 or the 1888 forms of the Lutheran liturgy this always takes into account the rich internal variations of practice which both of those orders allowed. Even the Common Service of 1888 with the full text and rubrics for The Service (including the introits, collects and lectionary), Matins, Vespers, the Litany, Suffrages and Occasional Services allows, in its preface that "if, at any time or place, the use of the full Service is not desired, it is in entire conformity with good Lutheran usage to use a simpler Service, in which only the principal parts, in their order, are contained."
[63]Nelson, 209

The members of the congregation had freely chosen to express their evangelical freedom by means of their voluntary subscription to a constitution which, among other things, required a recognizable form of worship according to an historic tradition. Free from the allegiance and obedience to liturgical form as *civic* law the laity at Koshkonong saw in their use of the *Ritual* a form which preserved and presented the doctrine "which is revealed in God's Holy Word through our baptismal covenant and in the canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, interpreted according to the symbolical books or confessional writings of the Church of Norway."[64] The liturgy, according to the "old" *Ritual*, was a funnel that could channel the rich and robust traditions of the evangelical Lutheran teaching into their new world and challenging circumstance.

Transplanting the liturgy was no easy task. There were a host of cultural forces in America which seemed to work against it. By the standards of the Methodists or the Mormons Dietrichson's work can hardly be called a "success". Yet his approach, which may seem bigoted and nordophilic, actually connected those nineteenth century pioneers with the teachers of the sixteenth century and those who had gone before in that great evangelical procession of liturgical expression in which the truth of the Gospel had been confessed, proclaimed and taught. This connection allowed them to rise above and avoid sectarianism in an embrace of genuinely catholic form and teaching.[65]

Dietrichson's program (to establish deep roots through an ordered practice) is not really so "out of date" when we consider it in light of current trends in the churches.

> …the local religious community forced to adapt to changing social conditions, may find some sage instruction in the historical background of American denominationalism as a particularly modern, and now postmodern, form of religious organization. The church has been here before, so to speak, and has lived through a variety of expressions in the nether land between sect and church types. Hence, the first practical implication for the present moment is to avoid panic and overblown predictions of total collapse or total transformative renewal for the church and its ministries.[66]
>
> Once grounded in a historic tradition, one is then free to explore the rich traditions of neighbors as well as to evolve in one's own identity within a living tradition. Such organic growth in tradition and the conversation of traditions is an antidote

[64] Nelson, 209. The symbolical books or confessional writings are listed in Dietrichson's proposed synodical constitution, namely the three ecumenical creeds, the unaltered Augsburg Confession and the Small Catechism. The Grundtvigian expressions were excised in the years which followed, owing to the clearly confessional turn in the theological education in Norway.

[65] It seems to me that our continued cultivation of orthodox catholic liturgical forms in the tradition of our synodical constitution is especially important today given the size of our synod and the widespread cultural confusion regarding the chief articles of our faith. Even with our network of fellowship it is not impossible to imagine us slipping into a sectarian heterodoxy. The practice of a pure, evangelical liturgy along with rigorous study and teaching of the doctrines of our church will remain a well-balanced "program" through the ages, consistent with the immediacy, depth and breadth of our Lord's command to go and make disciples.

[66] Johnson, p. 162

> to the captivity to social sources and the relativistic process of becoming just one more denomination.[67]
>
> Catechize, catechize, catechize! In the postmodern world the enemy is not so much ignorance as it is misunderstanding. There is widespread misunderstanding of traditions of culture and religion, even while many have some knowledge, interest, and respect for religious traditions. There is a need for deeper study and formation. Give attention to rites of passage and to the learning stages of all age groups. Work consciously against the postmodern tide of huge amounts of surface information on many things, and go for deep information and formation in historic traditions.[68]
>
> The traditions of worship, prayer, and song in Christianity are rich and robust. They come from many different social sources and can therefore be extremely helpful in our efforts not to be captive to the social sources of religion. New worship forms, prayers and songs are natural, but they hold no guarantee that they will be anything but captive to their social sources. Only the variety of sources from the many different social settings of Christianity can break the hold of contemporary social sources. Thus, the historic forms of worship, prayer and song are essential to the sociological health and critical prophetic edge of Christianity.[69]

This brief and selective overview of innovative practice in our liturgical tradition reminds us that we have, in our worship lives as two thousand years of church, moved from freedom in order to decency in uniformity, and then in the great Reformation, to freedom within form. How do we use that freedom today? Is our worship as rich and robust as our tradition? As we plan and execute our worship services are we captive to and limited by social sources or do we really engage in a conversation of traditions (and that conversation is represented in our hymnal where more than 2500 years of text and melody are drawn together from many corners of "church")? What does it mean to us to be a member of a synod which has, throughout its history, claimed to be a church which voluntarily practices an ordered church life and liturgy?

Perhaps it means that our innovations are tempered by a form which, again and again, has God's activity at the center, permeating our creativity… consider the artistic creativity which flourished beneath the yoke of an ordered church life: the music editions of Georg Rhau, the poetry and music of Walter, Herman, Spengler and Speratus; the Latin music editions of Lossius and Spangenberg; the Biblical motets and liturgical settings of Schuetz; the harmonic forms of the chorale in the Cantionale of Osiander and others; the massive polychoral hymn settings of M. Praetorius; organ music, instrumental music, solo vocal music, choral music and congregational music by Eccard, Scheidt, Schein, Hammerschmidt, Crueger and hundreds of other composers; texts of Nicolai, Gerhardt, Kingo and other poets who were inspired by the form of liturgy and church year to

[67] Johnson, p. 162
[68] Johnson, p. 163
[69] Johnson, p. 169 ff

produce new art in each generation; and finally, like the sun focusing through a magnifying glass, the liturgical music of J.S. Bach[70]: the masses, the cantatas, the passions, the organ chorales; the spirited "chorales reborn" of Grundtvig and Landstad; the lyric settings of the chorales by Lindeman; and even into the last century with the music of Distler, Bender and Manz. Consider the new era of creativity hinted at by the hymnals and supplements published by the member churches of the old Synodical Conference since the 1990's. And ALL of this creative freedom happens not in spite of, but because of the yoke of an ordered church life and liturgy. (Do not forget the thousands upon thousands of Lutheran Gospel sermons which have been created within and under the boundaries of the liturgical tradition. It is staggering!)

There will be times when our creativity and innovation will not provide an enduring Gospel proclamation. We may make mistakes. Just as the sound of our singing and preaching disappears, so also we may not produce the enduring legacy of a J.S. Bach (I'm quite sure that he didn't dare to think that he was producing something that would endure and bloom into the twenty-first century!!). But we are called, in our voluntary observance of an ordered church life and liturgy, to use the old, to make it our own, and to build upon it for today. Our creative and responsible cultivation of the liturgy will help to make it a fertile field for the wise innovators who will come after us. The "unlearned will be taught"[71], and creativity will be unleashed, again and again.

[70] We can also find evidence of creativity and innovation in Lutheran art and architecture through the ages. From the splendor of the Lutheran baroque (the Dresden Frauenkirche, or the sanctuary and organ in Kongsberg, Norway) to the altar paintings, old and new, in many of the churches of our synod.

[71] "… for the Mass is retained by us and celebrated with the highest reverence. All the usual ceremonies are also preserved, except that the parts sung in Latin are interspersed here and there with German hymns, which have been added to teach the people. For ceremonies are needed for this reason alone: that the unlearned be taught." AC 24, ELH p. 16.

Bibliography and Works Cited, with a few Annotations

Aune, Michael B. *To Move the Heart: Rhetoric and Ritual in the Theology of Philip Melanchthon*. San Francisco: Christian University Press, 1994.

Belcher, Jim. *Deep Church: A Third Way Beyond Emerging and Traditional*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2009.

The author takes the challenges of the emerging church seriously. He understands, and empathizes with, many in the evangelical church who see in the mega-church, conversion-oriented programmatic structure and agenda of "their parents' church" a theological and spiritual wasteland. He takes the emerging church to task for raising spirituality to a position which trumps doctrine, and suggests that evangelicalism needs to find its way to a fuller expression through teaching, the creeds, the church fathers and the liturgy of "Mere Christianity" which is common to all. The discourse highlights the vacuum in the "traditional" church (church growth revivalism) which brought about the emerging church movement.

Bergsma, Johannes. *Die Reform der Messliturgie durch Johannes Bugenhagen*. Hildesheim: Bernward Verlag, 1966.

Blume, Friedrich. *Protestant Church Music*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1974.

Brilioth, Yngve. *Eucharistic Faith and Practice Evangelical and Catholic*. London: SPCK, 1953 (1st edition, 1930).

Brauer, James L., ed. Worship, *Gottesdients, Cultus Dei: What the Lutheran Confessions Say About Worship*. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2005.

"This collection of quotations from The Book of Concord seeks to present significant portions of the confessors' documents under a few central topics. After all, at the center of the sixteenth-century religious debate were important questions about worship. The following chapters treat the definition of worship/Gottesdienst/cultus Dei, the Word of God, the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, Holy Absolution, prayer, praise, and matters of rite, ceremony, and order. Quotations are organized under overarching questions and numbered for easy reference."
This book is a helpful resource for all who are curious about what the Confessions say about worship. The topical arrangement provides a fresh view into the details of the practice of Lutheran worship as well as the rationale behind the practice.

Casel, Odo. *The Mystery of Christian Worship*, tr. I.T. Hale. Westminster, Maryland: Newman Press, 1962.

Common Service Book, with Hymnal. Philadelphia: The Board of Publication of The United Lutheran Church in America, 1917, 1929. *"Preface to the Common Service"* p. 306-308.

Crichton, J.D. *Lights in the Darkness: Forerunners of the Liturgical Movement*. Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1996.

DeGarmeaux, Mark, tr. *Church Ritual of Denmark and Norway*. Unpublished, 1994.

Easum, William. *Dancing with Dinosaurs: Ministry in a Hostile and Hurting World*. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1993.

Evangelical Lutheran Worship. Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2006.

Fagerberg, David W. *Theologia Prima: What is Liturgical Theology?* 2nd Edition. Chicago: Hillenbrand Books, 2004.

Finney, Charles G. *Revivals of Religion*. Virginia Beach: CBN University Press, 1978.

This important work remains in print, and in online editions. The arrangements suggested by Finney for a liturgy that highlights preaching and assessable results (conversions) have had, and continue to have, an influence on American Christianity. In some ways his ideas have been filtered through various denominational screens, but the pragmatic approach remains clear. In addition to his ideas about the "new measures" he gives loads of practical advice for strategies to guarantee a successful revival.

http://books.google.com/books?id=SN_FzG8PnIUC&printsec=frontcover&dq=finney+revivals+of+religion&source=bl&ots=ZRHumLuwDP&sig=gNZuccI0WqEOdBvQnzIRwFhQAMs&hl=en&ei=skeiTIz1B4ScnwfL1tWIBA&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=6&ved=0CCgQ6AEwBQ#v=onepage&q&f=false

http://www.ccel.org/ccel/finney/revivals.html

http://www.gospeltruth.net/1868Lect_on_Rev_of_Rel/index68revlec.html

Foley, Edward. *From Age to Age: How Christians Have Celebrated the Eucharist*. Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2008.

Johnson, Todd E. *The Conviction of Things Not Seen: Worship and Ministry in the 21st Century*. Grand Rapids: Brazos Press, 2002.

I discovered this *festschrift* in honor of Robert Webber when I started with a Google search on "worship innovation" last fall. It is a collection of thirteen stimulating essays which address many of the issues relating to Webber's lifelong quest for an ancient-future liturgy. Here are some of the essays:

Merging Tradition and Innovation in the Life of the Church
A Rose by Any Other Name: Attempts at Classifying North American Protestant Worship
Disconnected Rituals: The Origins of the Seeker Service Movment
Beyond Style: Rethinking the Role of Music in Worship
Ritual and Pastoral Care
On the Making of Kings and Christians: Worship and Culture Formation
Denominations in the New Century
Visual Christianity
Penetrating the World With the Gospel

Kilde, Jeanne Halgren. *When Church Became Theatre*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Lewis, C.S. *Screwtape Letters*. New York: HarperOne, 2001.

McLaren, Brian. *Finding Our Way Again: The Return of the Ancient Practices*. Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2008.

Melanchthon, P. *Selected Writings*. tr. C.L. Hill. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1978.

Nelson, E. Clifford, ed. *A Pioneer Churchman: J.W.C Dietrichson in Wisconsin 1844-1850*. New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., for the Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1973.

Pritchard. G.A. *Willow Creek Seeker Services: Evaluating a New Way of Doing Church.* Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1996.

Schmidt, Leigh Eric. *Holy Fairs: Scotland and the Making of American Revivalism*. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2002 (1st edition, 1989).

Schmidt, Leigh Eric. *Restless Souls: The Making of American Spirituality*. San Francisco: Harper, 2005.

Schmit, Clayton J. *Sent and Gathered: A Worship Manual for the Missional Church*. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2009.

This book represents a conversation about worship and the missional church, using the fourfold common pattern for worship (Gathering, Word, Sacrament, Sending). Schmit's emphasis on part three as "sacrament" rather than "meal" or "table" underscores his Lutheran background. This is a thought-provoking, and helpful book so long as one reads it with the eyeglasses of liturgical theology. It is very practical in its aim and purpose, and the second half of the book, "A Worship Manual for the Missional Church" is inspired by Aidan Kavanaugh's *Elements of Rite: A Handbook of Liturgical Style* and presents many common-sense hints for conducting the service so that (for instance) the announcements at the end don't make everybody forget what they've been involved in for the last 75 minutes.

Schultze, Quentin J. and Roert H. Woods Jr. *Understanding Evangelical Media: The Changing Face of Christian Communication*. Downers Grove, Illinois: IVP Academic, 2008.

A collection of essays that provide an overview of many facets of communication theory and practice in the evangelical "tribe". The essays are even-handed in their discussion of diverse topics, from music, media, gaming, to theme parks and public relations.
Some of the essay titles are:

Practicing Worship Media Behond PowerPoint
Praising God with Popular Worship Music
Evangelicals in Theater: Inching Toward Center Stage
Advertising: Fueling a Passion for Consumption
Considering a Catholic View of Evangelical Media
Looking with a Jew at Evangelical Popular Culture
Being Fairly Self-Critical About Evangelical Media

Scribner, Robert W. *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany*. Ronceverte, WV: The Hambledon Press, 1987.

Smith, Al. *Youth Rally: Songs and Choruses*. Winona Lake, Indiana: Rodeheaver, Hall-Mack Company, 1945.
Titles include:

In My Heart There Rings a Melody
I Love Him
I Need Jesus
I Surrender All
I Walk With the King
There Shall Be Showers of Blessing
Living For Jesus
Since Jesus Came into My Heart
Love Lifted Me
Whosoever Will
He's a Wonderful Savior to Me
Pentecostal Power
One Day!
Saved, Saved!
If Jesus Goes With Me
Why Not Now?
Higher Ground… and many others.

These were the praise and worship songs of a previous generation. Most of them have been discarded by current praise and worship practitioners. I wonder how many titles in the current repertoire will have a similar fate? Will a future writer cite a similar list from our own day that might include:

As the Deer
Awesome God
Be Glorified
Come, Now is the Time to Worship
Did You Feel the Mountains Tremble?
God is Good All the Time
Here I am to Worship
Holy and Anointed One
I Could Sing of Your Love Forever
I Give You My Heart
I Love You Lord
I Offer My Life
I Stand in Awe
I Want to Be Where You Are
I Worship You, Almighty God
Lord, I Lift Your Name on High
Majesty
Oh Lord, You're Beautiful
We Bow Down
We Fall Down
We Will Glorify
Worthy, You Are Worthy

These lists remind us that when we use music of the culture to reach the culture we may be forced, in each generation, to meet the expectations of a new popular music. Now, this is NOT to say that the music of the culture (both vernacular folk, vernacular "pop" and cultivated music) cannot be used in the liturgy. A brief perusal of the online catalogs of OCP and GIA will supply your "worship team" with a variety of musical settings of the Psalmody and Canticles and musical settings of the Choral Ordinary texts (Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus, Agnus Dei; the new English text of the Mass which will debut on November 27, 2011 is already being set in a wide variety of musical styles by composers of the Roman tradition) which the Lutheran liturgy shares with the Roman Catholic and Anglican traditions. It *is* possible to have a worship team that can help people learn to sing the liturgy, and that is the ultimate litmus test for any musical leadership in the church (and that includes organists!). It *is* possible to have liturgical music of this style, even in our churches, if we and our singers are willing to submit to an ordered form of worship in the detailed tradition of the *Ritual* and the *Common Service*. None of the songs listed above in the 1945 and 2010 lists fit that category, and none of them have the *textual* integrity to stand even the most cursory comparison with the Lutheran chorale *texts* from 1520-1750. It seems that we should use those texts as an initial base line to judge the texts of other hymnody, and, perhaps, as an inspiration for the creation of our own poetry.

OCP: http://www.ocp.org/newmasssettings/newsettings
GIA: http://www.giamusic.com/sacred_music/new_mass_settings.cfm
New Mass Text: http://www.usccb.org/romanmissal/order-of-mass.pdf

Waddell, James Alan. *The Struggle to Reclaim the Liturgy in the Lutheran Church: Adiaphora in Historical, Theological and Practical Perspective*. Lewiston, New York: The Edwin Mellon Press, 2005.

Wainwright, Geoffery and Karen B. Westerfield Tucker, ed. *The Oxford History of Christian Worship*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.

A thorough tome in the tradition of the various Oxford anthologies and encyclopediae. The Oxford History consists of a number of essays by noted authorities in each area. The article on Scandinavian Lutheran worship is one of the most helpful I've come across. It's worth having in your library; I got my copy (brand new) through the secondary market for eight dollars. Too big to use for a textbook, but an excellent resource. The more we know about our own tradition, especially from a variety of authors representing different educational backgrounds, the better we will be able to evaluate what we borrow from other traditions.

Webber, Robert E. *Ancient-Future Worship: Proclaiming and Enacting God's Narrative.* Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 2008.

For many years Robert Webber was one of the voices in Evangelical circles advocating a return to or a rediscovery of liturgical observance according to the traditions of the "early" church. He was convinced that the Evangelical commitment to pragmatically driven worship forms that borrowed heavily from the culture in order to bring Christ to the culture was flawed. In reading his work it seems that a simple conversion to the liturgical practices of orthodox Lutheranism would be the best way to address the flaw, but Webber's affinity for the centrality of *Christus Victor* as the defining theology of worship (Calvin revisited) short circuits any connection to the Theology of the Cross. *"Twenty Centuries of Christian Worship"* is a treasury of articles and essays from worship scholars in all traditions. It is very easy reading, and would be a very helpful addition to your library.

The following website includes information on Webber and his writings. It also includes the full text of *"The Call to an Ancient Evangelical Future",* a document which has provided a defining statement for Evangelicals who are searching for a Christian experience with deeper roots.

http://www.ancientfutureworship.com/

"Convinced that American evangelicals are facing the demise of their entire way of life and faith, Webber challenges his readers to rise up and engage both the external and internal challenges confronting them today. This means that Christians must repent of their cultural accommodation and reclaim the unique story the Christian story that God has given them both to proclaim and to live."

"Worship in churches today is too often dead and dry, or busy and self-involved. Robert Webber attributes these problems to a loss of vision of God and of God's narrative in past, present, and future history. As he examines worship practices of Old Testament Israel and the early church, Webber uncovers ancient principles and practices that can reinvigorate our worship today and into the future. The final volume in Webber's acclaimed Ancient-Future series, *Ancient-Future Worship* is the culmination of a lifetime of study and reflection on Christian worship. Here is an urgent call to recover a vigorous, God-glorifying, transformative worship through the enactment and proclamation of God's glorious story. The road to the future, argues Webber, runs through the past. Robert E. Webber (1933-2007) was, at the time of his death, Myers Professor of Ministry at Northern Seminary in Lombard, Illinois, and served as the president of the Institute for Worship Studies in Orange Park, Florida."

Webber, Robert. E., ed. *Twenty Centuries of Christian Worship.* The Complete Library of Christian Worship, Vol. 2. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994.

White, James. *A Brief History of Christian Worship*. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1993.

"James F. White held the Bard Thompson Chair of Liturgical Studies at Drew University. He previously taught at the Perkins School of Theology for twenty-two years and was professor of liturgy at the University of Notre Dame until 1999. He has served as president of the North American Academy of Liturgy and received its Berakah Award. He also chaired the editorial committee of the Section on Worship of the Board of Discipleship of The United Methodist Church. Dr. White held an A.B. from Harvard, a B.D. from Union Theological Seminary, and a Ph.D. from Duke University."

In this book White sets forth a history of worship which highlights freedom within form in the development of Christian liturgy. He points to the essential unity of the liturgical structures within Christianity, an amazing tendency, given the incredible breadth of the Christian worship experience through time and place. This little book has a lot of info, presented in a generous, pleasant manner. I'm using it in my college course in Hymnody and Liturgics, along with a companion anthology *"Documents of Christian Worship."*

White was one of the first liturgical scholars to draw attention to the unique history of Christian worship in America. *"Christian Worship in North America"* is a sampling of White's writings through the years. It, too, is accessible reading which provides us with a view of his development as a student and teacher of liturgy during the years of what was for many denominations a time of upheaval and experimentation.

A Scheme for Worship Classification
(Worship Taxonomy, based on R. Webber and J. White)

One may use the following scheme to classify worship according to:
A. Formal Theology (What does Lutheranism say it is?)
B. Doctrinal Ethos (What does Lutheranism "taste" like?)
C. Denominational Affiliation (What is the liturgical history of our denomination?)
D. Denominational Affiliation (What is the current practice of our denomination?)
E. Congregational Tradition
F. Personal Perception

My Church is a:

Personal Story Church					Cosmic Story Church

My Church emphasizes Christianity as a:

Way of Life					Way to Life

Spectrum of Sacramentalities (How do we Encounter the Divine?):

Music organized				Word/Preaching organized				Table/Altar organized			

"Worshipers in nearly every Christian tradition experience some of what happens in worship as *divine encounter*. Differences in Christian worship arise not so much whether or not God is understood to be present, but rather in what sense. Those who mock supposedly simplistic theories of sacramental realism at the Lord's Supper wind up preserving sacramental language for preaching or for music. Speaking only somewhat simplistically: the Roman Catholics reserve their sacramental language for the Eucharist, Presbyterians reserve theirs for preaching, and the charismatics save theirs for music. In a recent pastor's conference, one evangelical pastor solicited applications for a music director/worship leader position by calling for someone who could "make God present through music." No medieval sacramental theologian could have said it more strongly."
John D. Witvliet, "At Play in the House of the Lord: Why Worship Matters," *Books and Culture 4*, no. 6 (November/December 1998): 23.